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Hans Sachs's Reformation broadsheets: landscapes, cityscapes, dreamscapes

In 1523 the Nuremberg cobbler and Meistersinger Hans Sachs (1494-1576) published his famous poem *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*, an allegory of Luther's challenge to the Roman Church, whose title has been used as an epithet for Luther ever since. The title page shows the nightingale singing to herald the new dawn of Gospel light, as the dark night of Scholasticism draws to a close (Fig. 1).¹ The divided setting of this poem is central to its Lutheran message: that the unreformed church has exploited the sheep, leading them into desolate wastelands, rather than nourishing them with rich spiritual pasture. Alexandra Walsham has shown that the Reformation in Britain and Ireland shaped and was shaped by the physical landscape.² This article considers how the inherited symbolic landscape could also be imbued with new Lutheran meaning. It traces this within a selection of illustrated pamphlets and broadsheets by one author, Hans Sachs, from 1522, when he is known to have acquired Luther's early tracts, to the year of Luther's death.³ It shows how medieval literary traditions and forms could be re-worked in the service of an evangelical message,⁴ considers how Lutheran culture was both reflected in and critiqued by

¹ *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall Die man yetz höret vberall* ([Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1523]). For Sachs's collected works, see Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze (eds.), *Hans Sachs*, 26 vols. (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1870–1908) — hereafter *SW* —; here, vi, 368–86.

² Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

³ Collected editions of broadsheets are referred to by the following initials: *BB*: Heinrich Röttinger, *Die Bilderbogen des Hans Sachs* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ccxlvii, Strassburg, 1927); *G*: Max Geisberg (ed.), *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, rev. and ed. by Walter L. Strauss, 4 vols. (New York, 1974); *M/N*: Hermann Meuche (ed.) and Ingeborg Neumeister (comm.), *Flugblätter der Reformation und des Bauernkrieges: 50 Blätter aus der Sammlung des Schloßmuseums Gotha* (Leipzig, 1976); *WdHS*: Renate Freitag-Stadler et al., *Die Welt des Hans Sachs: 400 Holzschnitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Ausstellungskataloge der Stadtgeschichtlichen Museen Nürnberg, x, Nuremberg, 1976); *GM*: Walter L. Strauss (ed.), *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century: Erhard Schoen, Niklas Stoer* (The Illustrated Bartsch, xiii, New York, 1984).

⁴ Andrew Pettegree shows that, in writing hymns, Sachs also infused medieval forms with a Reformation message: *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 51.

Sachs's texts, and charts a development from polemically drawn biblical landscapes and recognisable urban spaces to more ethically focused dreamscapes.

A strong marker of Sachs's involvement with Lutheran culture is his increasing output of printed material from the 1520s onwards. Many of these publications were close collaborations with Nuremberg block-cutters, including Erhard Schön, Georg Pencz, and Sebald and Barthel Beham.⁵ The Meistersinger tradition was an oral one, and in 1523 Sachs wrote a song to one of his own melodies, which discussed Luther and his teaching: 'May God bring this about'.⁶ But significantly he expanded this in the same year into a published pamphlet: *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*. He had already engaged with printed culture, paying not only to acquire, but also to bind Lutheran tracts in 1522,⁷ and his explosive entry into the published polemical arena, which ends with the provocative statement 'Christ is a friend | The Pope is a sinner',⁸ marks him out clearly as a Lutheran. This was followed in 1524 by four prose dialogues, in which Sachs laid out Luther's *sola fide* doctrine and its consequences, both theological and ethical, for the individual and for society. And in 1527 he collaborated with the Nuremberg theologian Andreas Osiander and the block-cutter Erhard Schön (c.1491–1542) to write explanatory verses for the anti-papal illustrated pamphlet, *A Wondrous Prophecy about the Papacy*.⁹ Although Nuremberg's city

⁵ See BB; Rosemarie Bergmann, 'Hans Sachs Illustrated: Pamphlets and Broadsheets in the Service of the Reformation', *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne*, xvii (1990), 12; Harry Oelke, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, lvii, Berlin and New York, 1992).

⁶ 'Das Walt got'. See Frances Hankemeier Ellis (ed.), *Das Walt got: A Meisterlied* (Hans Sachs Studies, i, Bloomington, Indiana, 1941), esp. 36.

⁷ SW, xxv, 9; cited in Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation: Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany 1521–1525* (Cambridge, 1986), 267.

⁸ 'Christus amator | Papa peccator': *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*, fo. C4^r. This is omitted in SW, vi, 386.

⁹ *Eyn wunderliche Weyssagung/ von dem Babstumb/ wie es yhm biß an das endt der welt gehen sol/ ...* (Nuremberg: Hans Guldenmund, 1527); SW, xxii, 131–6. For the woodcuts, see GM 1301.048 and WdHS 25. For a discussion of the work, see Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1994), 142–7.

council had officially introduced the Reformation in 1525,¹⁰ it needed, as an Imperial Free City, to tread a careful path with regard to Lutheran propaganda, and Sachs was ordered by the city council to refrain from publishing such works in the future.¹¹ However, this ruling did not mark the end of Sachs's polemical engagement. In or around 1530 he wrote the verses for *The Seven-Headed Papal Beast of Revelation*, although his name did not appear on the original broadsheet,¹² and a number of other anti-papal publications appeared around this time, often with woodcuts accompanying the texts.¹³ But as the years drew on, Sachs's work became less polemical.¹⁴ Helmut Krause posits several reasons for this: disappointment that the Reformation was failing to bear fruit, a heeding of the council's warning on the part of a man with a young family to support, and the likelihood that once Sachs was writing for an officially Lutheran local population, he could concentrate on edification rather than proselytization.¹⁵ The following analysis demonstrates that the shift in emphasis from confessional polemics to a more critical reflection on the Reformation's social and ethical fruits is accompanied by a move from starkly divided landscapes to dreamscapes, where the setting gives access to the poetic persona's inner thoughts.

¹⁰ See C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), 9.

¹¹ See Irene Stahl, 'Hans Sachs (1494–1576). Eine biographische Skizze', in Dieter Merzbacher et al. (eds.), *500 Jahre Hans Sachs: Handwerker, Dichter, Stadtbürger* (Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, lxxii, Wiesbaden, 1994), 28–9.

¹² *Das sibenhabtig Pabstier Offenbarung Johannis* (WdHS 60; BB 1224; G, iv, 1530 (G.1575); M/N, TA 17, pp. 41–2 and 119. The version reproduced in SW, xxii, 279–80 has Sachs's usual signature lines added to the end, and is dated 1543.

¹³ Mary Beare notes that it is sometimes hard to state whether the woodcut or the poem came first, and she considers it likely that Sachs wrote texts to some existing woodcuts (Beare, 'Observations on some of the illustrated broadsheets of Hans Sachs', *German Life and Letters*, xvi (1963), 175). However, some of the dates Sachs used in his 'Spruchbücher', where he collated his own works, seem to refer to the date of transcription rather than composition (see note 32 below). Ingeborg Spriewald points out that when Sachs prepared the folio edition of his works from 1558 onwards, he was writing for a more literate readership. He included many poems that were originally broadsheets, but made some changes to them (*Literatur zwischen Hören und Lesen: Wandel von Funktion und Rezeption im späten Mittelalter: Fallstudien zu Beheim, Folz und Sachs* (Berlin, 1990), 124–7).

¹⁴ Bergmann also notes the move from polemical attacks on the Catholic church to texts with a greater focus on social criticism ('Hans Sachs Illustrated', 14).

¹⁵ Helmut Krause, *Die Dramen des Hans Sachs: Untersuchungen zur Lehre und Technik* (Berlin, 1979), 42–4.

I. Sachs's Reformation landscapes

In the introduction to their work on the iconography of landscape, Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels state that '[a] landscape is a cultural image'.¹⁶ Lutheran polemical culture frequently chose a strongly antithetical landscape, often based on biblical places or parables, as a rich way of drawing a distinction between cultivation and corruption, productivity and profligacy. This can be clearly seen in Sachs's earliest published Reformation poem, *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*. Indeed, it would be hard to overlook how staunchly Lutheran this text is: Luther is readily identifiable in the title through the reference to his city, and the woodcut illustration gives him a prominent and pivotal place in the divided image, turned towards the dawning day and to Christ, the Lamb of God (Fig. 1). Here, the political and theological Reformation debates are transposed to a pastoral setting, and the landscape and its animal inhabitants are allegorically encoded and then decoded.¹⁷ The woodcut contrasts the light of the Gospel and the darkness of Scholasticism, the wholesome pasture of Christ with the thorny thickets of the unreformed church. The animals below the nightingale are identified in the text as the Pope (the lion), some of Luther's leading named antagonists (including Johannes Eck [boar], Hieronymus Emser [goat], Thomas Murner [cat], and Johannes Cochlaeus [snail]), university scholars (frogs), monks and nuns (serpents), and hostile members of the laity (wild geese). Collectively they exploit, mislead and devour the flock they are supposed to tend. Balzer has demonstrated that the text shows the

¹⁶ Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape. Essays in the Symbolic Representations, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, ix, Cambridge, 1988, repr. 1997), 1.

¹⁷ For more detailed discussions of *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*, see Winfried Theiß, *Exemplarische Allegorik: Untersuchungen zu einem literarhistorischen Phänomen bei Hans Sachs* (Munich, 1968), 129–34; Norbert Mecklenburg, *Der Prophet der Deutschen: Martin Luther im Spiegel der Literatur* (Stuttgart, 2016), 49–55; Bernd Balzer, *Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda: Die Flugschriften des Hans Sachs in den Jahren 1523–25* (Germanistische Abhandlungen, xlii, Stuttgart, 1973), 40–72.

influence of two medieval genres: the animal epic and the dawn song.¹⁸ But the association of particular adversaries with certain animals, sometimes suggested by names — Murner as a cat and Cochlaeus a snail — is also a familiar element of polemical Lutheran culture,¹⁹ and the ravaging beasts stand in stark contrast to the gentle Lamb of God.

Thus the landscape, which is underpinned by the inherited biblical metaphor of the Good Shepherd, becomes specifically Lutheran. The use of the tree to divide the illustration calls to mind other Reformation images, such as Cranach's allegories of Law and Gospel,²⁰ and antithesis is a key structural feature of a number of early Lutheran publications, for example the *Passion of Christ and Antichrist* (1521), or Luther's *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace* (1518), which discusses two clearly opposing models for salvation. Sachs's adherence to this dichotomous Lutheran pattern is identified by Rosmarie Bergmann,²¹ and is clearly illustrated in a broadsheet based on the parable in Matthew 7: *The House of the Wise Man and the House of the Foolish Man*.²² In Erhard Schön's woodcut the Lamb of God provides one of the pillars supporting the wise man's house, whereas the collapsing house of the foolish man has been ineffectually propped up on the works of Duns Scotus and on papal decrees, and the seven-headed Antichrist sits amidst the ruins of the building. A broadsheet from 1524, with text by Sachs and woodcut by Sebald

¹⁸ Balzer, *Bürgerliche Reformationspropaganda*, 48–52. On the dawn-song influence in the original Meisterlied, see Ellis, *Das Walt got*, 50–53.

¹⁹ See Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 74–6.

²⁰ For more on these woodcuts and paintings, sometimes referred to as Law and Grace, see Christoph Weimer, *Luther, Cranach und die Bilder: Gesetz und Evangelium — Schlüssel zum reformatorischen Bildgebrauch* (Arbeiten zur Theologie, lxxxix, Stuttgart, 1999); and Weimer, 'Luther and Cranach on Justification in Word and Image' in Timothy J Wengert (ed.), *The Pastoral Luther: Essays on Martin Luther's Practical Theology* (Grand Rapids Michigan and Cambridge, 2009).

²¹ Bergmann, 'Hans Sachs Illustrated', 11, 13.

²² Neumeister attributes *Das Hauß des Weysen vnd das haus des unweisen manß* to the Nuremberg printer Hans Hergott (*M/N*, 115–16). It is reproduced in *M/N* TA 10; *GM* 1301.138, and *G*, iii, 1086 (G.1139). Röttinger appears to refer to a later edition (*BB* 526). For a discussion of this and the sheepfold broadsheet, see Franz Otten, *mit hilff gottes zw tichten ... got zw lob vnd zw außspreitung seines heilsamen wort: Untersuchungen zur Reformationsdichtung des Hans Sachs* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, dlxxxvii, Göppingen, 1993), 211–25. See also Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 193–5.

Beham (1500–50), uses another biblical image of Christ as the Good Shepherd: *The Sheepfold of Christ*.²³ But where *The Nightingale of Wittenberg* had sketched an imagined allegorical landscape, mixing biblical and vernacular references — the nightingale, barely mentioned in the Bible, is a stock figure of medieval love poetry²⁴ —, these later broadsheets take their impetus directly from New Testament analogies and parables, shoring up their arguments on the foundation of Scripture, which in so much Lutheran writing is highlighted in opposition to other sources of authority used by the established church.

In 1532 Sachs wrote a poem he later entitled ‘God’s Lament for his Vineyard, Laid Waste by Human Teachings and Commands’.²⁵ It appeared as a broadsheet, illustrated by Erhard Schön (Fig. 2). The poem is based on Jeremiah 12. 10, 13: ‘Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness. [...] They have sown wheat, but shall reap thorns’.²⁶ Using the analogy of the vineyard for God’s people in both Old and New Testaments, Sachs implicitly identifies the idolatrous Israelite leaders with the Roman Catholic church through his insistence that they have destroyed the vineyard ‘with human teachings, doctrines and inventions, which come from the mind rather than Scripture’,²⁷ a description which echoes Luther’s criticisms of church doctrine in *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) and *Avoiding the Doctrines of Men* (1522).²⁸ For Sachs,

²³ *Der schafstal Christi* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1524); SW, xxiv, 3–5. For further information, see BB 88); WdHS 9; and M/N TA 12, pp. 33–4, 116–17; Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 51–53.

²⁴ See, for example, Judith Ryan, *The Cambridge Introduction to German Poetry* (Cambridge, 2012), 19–21.

²⁵ ‘Ein klag Gotes über seinen weinberg, verwüstet durch menschen lehr unnd gebott’ (SW, i, 252–55). For information on the untitled broadsheet, see BB 529; G, iii, 1087 (G.1140); GM 1301.140; and M/N TA 15, pp. 38–9 and p. 118. It is also discussed in Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 190–93, and by Katherina M. Fostano in ‘The Mystic Winepress in Sixteenth Century Reformation Art and Thought’ (Pratt Institute Masters thesis, 2016; <http://hadthesis.pratt.edu/items/show/68>; accessed 3.3.2017), 27–9.

²⁶ Bible verses are cited in German from Luther’s 1545–46 translation, and in English from the King James Version.

²⁷ ‘Durch menschen ler gesetz und fündt’ | Aus vernunft an geschriffte gegründet’ (broadsheet, ll. 25–6). In SW, i, 252, ll. 27–8 ‘fündt’ has become ‘sünd’.

²⁸ See *Von der Freyhey einisz Christen menschen*, in *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (WA), 73 vols. (Weimar, 1883–), vii; especially points 17 and 18 (pp. 28–9). For an English translation, see Harold J. Grimm (ed.), *The Freedom of a Christian*, trans. W. A. Lambert; rev. Harold J. Grimm, in Helmut T. Lehmann (ed.), *Luther’s Works*,

church leaders are leaky wells, which poison the people of God (Jeremiah 2. 13, cf. II Peter 2. 17). The poem uses three potent images of cultivation: the vineyard, the grazing of sheep, and arable farming, all drawing on biblical analogies and parables.²⁹ The arable image had already been used in a broadsheet showing the clergy tilling the land.³⁰ Here Luther had appeared as a Hercules-like figure, clad in a lion skin, with an implicit reference to the hero's first labour — slaying the Nemean lion —, which may well owe something to Hans Holbein's famous 1519 woodcut of Luther as 'Hercules Germanicus'.³¹ Sachs had also pressed the sheep analogy into polemical service, not only in *The Nightingale of Wittenberg* and *The Sheepfold of Christ*, but also in a broadsheet dated around 1530, which depicts the Pope and his clergy fleecing the common man,³² a widespread metaphor in the early years of the Reformation.³³

In choosing the vineyard as the nucleus of their broadsheet, Sachs and Schön drew not only on an established and therefore authoritative biblical analogy, but also tapped into contemporary Reformation discourse, which was keen to paint the Reformers as better pastors and cultivators of the word of God, by using biblical metaphors and references which bolstered their credentials and allowed their opponents to appear, by contrast, as the profligate despoilers of the

xxx: Career of the Reformer I (Philadelphia, 1957). *Von Menschenlehre zu meiden*, in WA, x.ii, 72–86. For an English translation, see E. Theodore Bachmann (ed.), *Avoiding the Doctrines of Men and a Reply to the Texts Cited in Defense of the Doctrines of Men*, trans. William A. Lambert; rev. E. Theodore Bachmann, in Helmut T. Lehmann (ed.), *Luther's Works*, vol. xxxv: Word and Sacrament I (Philadelphia, 1960).

²⁹ For a discussion of how Old Testament images of cultivation are picked up allegorically in the New Testament, see Christopher Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Literature, culture, theory, xiii, Cambridge, 1995), 53–83.

³⁰ The surviving woodcut, which has been dated to the early 1530s or earlier, has no text (see BB 1079); G, iii, 1088 (G.1141); GM 1301.141; M/N, 39; and WdHS 62. The poem 'The Pope's Husbandry' ('Des babstes ackerpaw') can be found in SW, xxii, 246–50, where it is dated 3 May 1541.

³¹ Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 32–4.

³² *The Pope's Exhortation to his Temple Assistants* (*Des Bapst ermanung zu seinen Tempel knechten*): see Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 54–5; WdHS 73; G, iv, 1532 (G.1576); BB 1223 and plate IX. The text is also in SW, xxii, 276–8, where it is dated 2 May 1543. As this is the day before the date given in SW, xxii, 279–80 for *The Seven-Headed Papal Beast*, which was circulating as a broadsheet around 1530, it seems likely that in 1543 Sachs may have been writing out some of his poems from 1530. (Röttinger makes a similar point about 'The Pope's Husbandry' (BB, 8, 20).)

³³ Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 55–8. The metaphor of the exploited flock is used in Luther's fiftieth thesis.

Psalms and parables. The papal bull of 1520 had described Luther, in the words of Psalm 80, as the boar destroying the vineyard.³⁴ And Luther turned the vineyard analogy to his advantage on a number of occasions. Several entries from *Table Talk* refer to Jan Hus rooting out the thorn-bushes from the Lord's vineyard so that Luther came to ground already ploughed and ready to be sown;³⁵ and in his 1527 exegesis of Zechariah, Luther interprets the lack of rain falling on the vineyard as the absence of true preaching of the Gospel.³⁶ The wider popularity of the vineyard metaphor amongst Lutherans is illustrated by its use in Katharina Schütz Zell's 1524 pamphlet defending her husband and clerical marriage.³⁷ Schön, who had produced the frontispiece for *The Spiritual Vineyard* (1513), in which clergy and laity appear to be working harmoniously together,³⁸ later realised the polemical potential, as we can see from a coloured woodcut illustrating Mark 12, the parable of the tenants in the vineyard — in Schön's illustration clearly identifiable as the Pope and his clergy —, who abuse the owner's servants and kill his son.³⁹ Thirty years after Sachs and Schön's collaboration, the comparison still sufficiently resonated with Lutherans for it to be chosen by Lucas Cranach the Younger as the basis of his epitaph for the Reformer Paul Eber, which even today hangs in St. Mary's Church in Wittenberg.⁴⁰

³⁴ <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/110exdom.htm>; accessed 15.3.2017.

³⁵ 'Iohannes Hus sustulit ex vinea Dei vepres, ego autem pugnans contra papam kam in ein ewens blachfeld.' (WA *Tischreden* (Tr.), 2, 2177a, p. 348). See also WA Tr. 3, 3403b (p. 305).

³⁶ 'Der Prophet Sacharja ausgelegt', in WA, 23, 662; Hilton C. Oswald (ed.), 'Lectures on the Minor Prophets III: Zechariah', trans. Walther M. Miller, in *Luther's Works*, xx (Saint Louis, Missouri, 1973), 345. Luther refers here to Isaiah 5. He makes the same point in 'Evangelium am S. Stephans-Tage' (Matthew 23), in *Kirchenpostille*, WA, 10.I, 286.

³⁷ *Entschuldigung Katharina Schützinn/ für M. Matthes Zellen/ jren Eegemahel ...* ([Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel, 1524]), fo. B^r.

³⁸ Title page of *De spirituali vinea...* (Nuremberg: Johann Stuchs, 1513). See GM 1301.02[a].

³⁹ See GM 1301.139, M/N, B 15. Neumeister dates the woodcut to the mid-1520s and the extant edition of the broadsheet to sometime after 1540 (M/N, 87–8).

⁴⁰ For a brief discussion of the 1532 woodcut, the undated Mark illustration, and Cranach's epitaph for Eber, see Belting, *Das echte Bild*, 205–209. Belting dates the Mark 12 woodcut to 1540, following Meuche, who argues that it was produced relatively late, but based on an earlier version from around 1534 (M/N, 35–6), whereas in GM 1301.139, the date is given as c.1525. There would appear also to be links to a tract by Thomas Stör, *On the Christian Vineyard* (*Von dem Christlichen Weingarten ...*, 1524): see GM 1301.139) and M/N, 87.

If Sachs's 1532 text does not make the attack on Rome explicit, Schön's woodcut is far less restrained. The Pope is clearly visible, fencing off a tree on which grow representations of his power and the source of ecclesiastical wealth, as well as symbols of the practices of the unreformed church: rosaries, statues, a *cappello romano*, and, occupying central position, a letter of indulgence. The next tree bears the paraphernalia of Roman Catholic worship: a thurible and incense boat, a bell, a banner, an organ, and a monstrance. A shield, books, and pretzels and fish (representing Lenten fasting) grow on the second; and cowls and birettas blossom on the third. These are the only fruits the trees produce: the work of human hands and human minds. God is consigning them to the bonfire, eradicating them to make space for the vines. To God's right is the crucified Christ, the true vine (John 15), whose cross bears the fruit of salvation which the woodcut suggests is not to be found in Catholic practices and doctrines. From him flows the stream of living water, irrigating the new and fruitful vines of the faithful. The stream is the dividing line in this image. On the same side evangelical faith is illustrated by the preacher addressing a mixed crowd of laity, a harmonious group, peacefully united under the word of God, the foundation of their new doctrines. The viewer is presented with a depiction of a strong community, which taps into what Andrew Pettegree has described as a Lutheran lay 'culture of belonging'.⁴¹ Hermann Meuche points out that the evangelicals here do not confront their opponents directly, but show their opposition by their contrasting behaviour (*M/N*, p. 39). The banderole gives the sermon text: 'Blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it' (Luke 11. 28), although Schön significantly adds in the words 'and act in accordance with it'.⁴²

⁴¹ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, chapter 9, esp. 213–14.

⁴² 'Selig synnd die das Wort gottis horen vnnd es behalten. Auch danach handeln'. It is interesting to note that this is not Luther's 1522 translation, which uses 'bewaren' rather than 'behalten' in both the September and December editions.

Where Sachs's 1532 poem and its woodcut draw directly on biblical interpretations of images of cultivation, another collaborative production takes actual biblical landscapes, and interprets them antithetically to represent what Sachs calls 'two kinds of preaching' (Fig. 3).⁴³ *Seven Worldly Obstacles Encountered by the Person Who Seeks Christ* uses a text by Sachs and a woodcut by Georg Pencz (1500–50), who in 1525 had been accused of Anabaptist sympathies and temporarily banished from Nuremberg together with the brothers Beham.⁴⁴ The text and woodcut take two highly significant biblical mountains: Mount Sinai, where the Law is given to Moses, and Mount Zion the 'holy hill' of deliverance in the very heart of the Promised Land (Joel 2.32). The broadsheet imagines a journey from the first to the second. Once again, in text and woodcut, the distinction is between the wild and the cultivated, the barren and the fruitful. Sinai is 'an arid mountain', where humankind receives the law that condemns it: Yahweh in the burning bush hands down the tablets of the Decalogue and the only other tree on this rocky mountain is bare and stunted. Zion, on the other hand, is verdant.⁴⁵

The opposition of the arid and the verdant landscapes, indicated by the foliage on the trees, and the depiction of Moses and the Ten Commandments on one side, and the Passion of Christ on the other, call to mind once again Cranach's Law and Gospel paintings and engravings. But here the focus is not primarily on a polemically drawn gulf between the Reformers and their opponents, but on the internal spiritual journey of the individual. To get from one mountain to the other, the Christian must pass through the desolate valley of the wicked and guileful world, where

⁴³ '[Z]weyerley predig werck' (SW, i, 383, l. 6). Around 1529 Pencz and Sachs collaborated on another broadsheet, also published in Nuremberg by Wolfgang Rensch, entitled *The Content of Two Kinds of Sermon (Inhalt zweierley predig ...)*. See WdHS33; M/N TA 14, p. 39, pp. 117–18; G, iii, 953 (G.997).

⁴⁴ 'Sibnerley Anstöß der welt/ so dem menschen der Christum suchet/ begegnen'. See G, iii, p. xi and M/N, 83. For information on the broadsheet see BB 340; WdHS 34, and G, iii, 943 (G.985). The date is variously given as 1526 or 1529. It is dated 1529 in the revised version in SW, i, 383–90, but may have pre-dated the city council's warning to Sachs in 1527. There is an edition of the woodcut alone, and one where a different text is used, which may also explain the discrepancy (BB 340). The broadsheet mentions the Bayreuth preacher Johann Behem, although the connection is unclear. Behem may have preached on this topic.

⁴⁵ Sinai is 'ein dürrer berck', but Zion is 'grünend' (SW, i, 383, l. 7; 384, l. 7).

he will encounter seven obstacles.⁴⁶ He must tread down the densely woven fences of laws and commandments devised by men, which prevent him from drawing close to Christ; he must learn to ignore the pricks to his conscience from the unfruitful and obstructive briars and thorn-bushes, which are the church fathers, councils, and established church practices; he must step over fallen trees, which represent his ancestors and their customs; he must resist the allure of the broad but diverting meadow with its promise of earthly delights (cf. Matthew 7: 13–14); he must pass bravely through a barren wood, where incessant hail represents the worldly crowds who mock and despise true Christians; he must avoid the false prelates, wolves in sheep's clothing, who wish to lead him astray; and he must beware of lions and bears, who stand for tyrannical secular rulers. On arriving at Zion, the believer continues his journey uphill until he comes to a winepress, where he finds Christ who has trodden the grapes of wrath for him by taking on his sins, an image which draws on a medieval tradition that is both typological and symbolises the Eucharist.⁴⁷ Pencz and Sachs reduce the sacramental aspect, however, and emphasize, in Lutheran fashion, the implications of Christ's redemption for each believer: the burden which presses down on Christ's back, expressing the wine-blood of salvation, is made up in the woodcut of individual knapsacks.⁴⁸ The believer receives the Holy Spirit, is anointed with the oil of gladness, represented by the olive trees growing abundantly on this mountain, and lives in harmony with fellow believers, whom he serves through willing works. His struggles are not yet at an end: he may suffer persecution, and must fight to subdue the temptations of the body until he can, at last, leave behind both flesh and fleshly desires in the grave.

⁴⁶ The 'wüste thal | Der arglistigen welte böß' (SW, i, 384, ll. 10–11).

⁴⁷ See Elina Gertsman, 'Multiple Impressions: Christ in the Winepress and the Semiotics of the Printed Image', *Art History*, xxxvi (2013); Alfred Weckwerth, 'Christus in der Kelter: Ursprung und Wandlungen eines Bildmotives', in Ernst Guldán (ed.), *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte: Eine Festgabe für Heinz Rudolf Rosemann* ([Munich], 1960), esp. 106–107 for the use of the image in the Reformation; Fostano, 'The Mystic Winepress'.

⁴⁸ For Luther's use of the image in his *Sermon on the New Testament, that is, The Holy Mass* (*Eyn Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520), see Fostano, 'The Mystic Winepress', 20–21.

The final stage of his journey is the Last Judgement and bodily resurrection, when he enters into the true spiritual fatherland. The prophets and John the Baptist point the way to Mount Zion, and in the broad meadow of earthly delights sleeping pilgrims are woken by the figure of St Paul, whose writings were so important for Luther's early Reformation tracts and their *sola fide* message. In this poem the abuses are clearly those of the established church, but the ad hominem attacks of *The Nightingale of Wittenberg* have now disappeared. The poem focuses not only on the journey of faith, but also on what happens after the believer reaches Zion. And the emphasis on the 'willing works' undertaken amongst believers suggests that Sachs's text aims not to convert, but to strengthen already sympathetic readers by urging them to live out the true freedom of Luther's message. Indeed, when he describes the third obstacle, the trees representing established customs, Sachs sums up the paradox at the heart of Luther's *Freedom of the Christian*: 'But man must step over these, and demonstrate his Christian freedom, and yet also spare the consciences of others'.⁴⁹

II. Cityscapes

As well as addressing theological issues, Lutheran reformers wanted to tackle contemporary social concerns, and we see this reflected in Sachs's choice of setting for his 1524 prose dialogues, which are placed within familiar urban spaces, immediately recognisable to his readers.⁵⁰ In some ways reminiscent of his carnival plays, with their earthy exchanges and

⁴⁹ 'Doch muß der mensch die ubersteygen | Und sein christliche freyheyte zeygen | Doch verschon die frembden gewissen' (*SW*, i, 385, ll. 31–3).

⁵⁰ For more detailed discussions of the dialogues, see Hans Sachs, *Die Prosadialoge von Hans Sachs*, ed. Ingeborg Spriewald (Leipzig, 1970), 13–33; and Philip Broadhead, 'The Contribution of Hans Sachs to the Debate on the Reformation in Nuremberg: A Study of the Religious Dialogues of 1524', in Robert Aylett and Peter Skrine (eds.), *Hans Sachs and Folk Theatre in the Late Middle Ages: Studies in the History of Popular Culture* (Bristol German Publications, v, Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter, 1995). Franz Otten offers an argument for renumbering the accepted order of the dialogues in 'Die Reformationsdialoge des Hans Sachs. Revidierte Chronologie und ihre Auswirkung auf das "Bild" des Nürnberger Dichters der Reformation', in Merzbacher et al., *500 Jahre Hans Sachs*.

glimpses of situation comedy, and appealing to the same urban audience, the conversations take place on the threshold, over the dinner-table, or in the parlour. The quotidian, domestic setting was part of Sachs's strategy for making the issues directly relevant to the lives of his readers. The first exchange, *Disputation between a Canon and a Shoemaker, in Which the Word of God and True Christian Living are Championed*, has a woodcut by Sebald Beham (Fig. 4). It is set at the threshold of a canon's dwelling, where a cobbler has come to return some shoes which he has repaired.⁵¹ The cobbler, whose name is Hans, has become a Lutheran, and seeks to discuss his newly found beliefs with the canon: the one cites scripture with confidence; the other is more at home with canon law. Indeed, the canon's request for his cook to bring him 'that big old book',⁵² so that he can check the accuracy of one of the cobbler's scriptural references, exposes him and his sources of authority in a comic vignette: first, the cook mistakenly fetches a collection of papal decrees; then, when she finds the correct book, it is covered in a thick layer of dust, suggesting that it is rarely opened; finally, the canon has to tell the cobbler to find the passage himself: 'You look. I haven't read much of it; I can think of more useful things to read'.⁵³ At the end of the dialogue, having resolved to give his future custom to a different cobbler, less inclined to argue with him, and having sacked his calefactor, who has also outed himself as a Lutheran, the canon orders his cook to prepare a banquet for some guests, and to ensure that she puts away the Bible and lays out dice, counters, the game board, and several packs of cards.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd Schüchmacher darin[n] das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich wesen verfochten wirt* ([Augsburg: Melchior Rammingen], 1524). See SW, xxii, 6–33.

⁵² '[D]as groß alt buch' (SW, xxii, 20, l. 29).

⁵³ 'Sucht selb, ich bin nit vil darinn umgangen, ich weyß wol nützers zu lesen' (SW, xxii, 21, ll. 9–10).

⁵⁴ Krause sees hints of Anabaptist sympathies in Sachs's early works, especially in the emphasis in this dialogue on the Holy Spirit enabling an uneducated reader to interpret the Bible, and suggests that this influence may have come through Hans Denck, the Nuremberg schoolmaster banished in 1525 (*Die Dramen des Hans Sachs*, 28, 39–40).

The other dialogues are set in houses belonging to Lutherans, but whilst one criticises the monastic practice of receiving alms,⁵⁵ the other two offer a more critical perspective on Reformed Christianity, suggesting that the Lutheran house is not in quite such good order as it supposes. One highlights the economic disparity between rich and poor, and the morally questionable practice of stockpiling goods to make them scarce and then selling them at inflated prices,⁵⁶ whilst the other distinguishes between a narrow-minded and dogmatic ‘Lutheran’, Peter, who enjoys correcting and putting down his Catholic father-in-law, and a more tolerant ‘evangelical’, Hans, with whom Sachs clearly identifies (Fig. 5).⁵⁷ Paul Russell discusses these apparently opposing terms, suggesting that ‘they are used to contrast the insufficiency of Lutheran reform with the evangelical model of [the] pamphleteers’.⁵⁸ It is certainly the case that the criticism seems to be of the day-to-day implementation of the Reformation message, rather than of the doctrines themselves, for Hans speaks warmly of his pamphlet on Christian freedom,⁵⁹ and chides Peter for using Luther’s teachings to claim this freedom without exercising Christian responsibility, for wanting ‘to make the pious man Luther serve as a cloak for impropriety, and yet not live in accordance with his teaching’.⁶⁰ This insistence on living out the full paradox of Luther’s tract *The Freedom of the Christian*, to be spiritually free according to the doctrine of *sola fide*, and yet to be

⁵⁵ *A Conversation about the Sham Works of the Clergy and Their Vows, Which, in Blasphemy against Christ’s Blood, They Believe Will Make Them Righteous* (Eyn gesprech von den Scheinwercken der Gaystlichen/ vnd jren gelübden/ damit sy zûuerlesterung des blûts Christi vermaynen selig zû werden), published by Hieronymus Hölzel in Nuremberg; in SW, xxii, 34–50. See GM 1301.027.

⁵⁶ *A Dialogue Containing an Argument of the Romans against the Christian Flock, Concerning Avarice and Other Public Vices* (Ein Dialogus/ des inhalt/ ein argument der Römischen wider das christlich heüßlein/ den Geytz/ auch ander öffentlich laster [et]c. betreffend), published in Nuremberg by Hieronymus Hölzel; see SW, xxii, 51–68.

⁵⁷ *A Conversation between an Evangelical Christian and a Lutheran, in Which the Offensive Behaviour of Some of Those Who Call Themselves Lutherans is Exposed and Chastised in a Brotherly Fashion* (Eyn gesprech eynes Euangelischen Christen/ mit einem Lutherischen/ darin der Ergerlich wandel etlicher/ die sich Lutherisch nennen/ angezeigt/ vn[d] brüderlich gestrafft wirt), published in Nuremberg by Hieronymus Hölzel; see SW, xxii, 69–84.

⁵⁸ Russell, *Lay Theology*, 177–9.

⁵⁹ SW, xxii, p. 69, l. 11.

⁶⁰ ‘Zu dem so wölt ir all, die ir euch lutherisch nennet, an dem frummen man, dem Luther, ainen deckmantel ewer unschicklikait suchen, und euch seiner leer nit gemeß halten’ (*ibid.*, p. 79, ll. 10–13). Also cited in Russell, *Lay Theology*, 179.

a servant to all in performance of good works,⁶¹ is echoed in the continuation of the believer's journey once he has reached Mount Zion in *Seven Worldly Obstacles Encountered by the Person Who Seeks Christ*, and in the vineyard woodcut, with the clause significantly added to the words in Luke 11: it is important not only to hear the Word of God and retain it, but also to behave in accordance with it.

III. Dreamscapes

Sachs's later works become less overtly polemical and more didactic, and the setting shifts increasingly to dreamscapes which focus to a great extent on ethical behaviour. Indeed, the fact that these are increasingly published as pamphlets rather than broadsheets suggests a change in target audience. They are no longer aimed so directly at black-and-white depictions of opposing sides, but offer deeper reflection to a readership able both to afford longer publications and to decode allegories and allusions that are often classical.⁶² As Winfried Theiß and Helene Henze have observed, the poems frequently follow a pattern familiar from medieval Latin debate poetry, as well as vernacular forms:⁶³ the narrator encounters allegorical figures (Lady Care, Philosophy, Wrath, or Inconstancy, for example) in a dream, or walking through woods or on a mountain, sometimes named, but usually described generically and symbolically,⁶⁴ and engages in dialogue with them.⁶⁵

⁶¹ WA, vii, 21; *Works*, xxxi, 344.

⁶² See Spriewald, *Literatur zwischen Hören und Lesen*, 120–21. She argues that the use of polemical broadsheets that were directly anti-papal drops rapidly after the Peasants' War.

⁶³ Helene Henze, *Die Allegorie bei Hans Sachs: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zur graphischen Kunst* (Hermaea, xi, Halle, 1912), 1; Theiß, *Exemplarische Allegorik*, 11.

⁶⁴ Theiß, *Exemplarische Allegorik*, 109.

⁶⁵ Theiß notes that from the 1530s onwards, Sachs tends more towards personification than typological allegory (*ibid.*, 11). Henze provides numerous examples in *Die Allegorie bei Hans Sachs*.

Like the prose dialogues, Sachs's dreamscapes often begin in the world of the reader, in the dreamer's bedroom, house or church, so that the explanations, solutions or criticisms are seen to have a direct bearing on the target audience.⁶⁶ Here even the familiar words of greeting are important.⁶⁷ A number of poems open with the narrator pondering a problem or bemoaning an issue before falling asleep.⁶⁸ In the dream, he encounters the allegorical figure and receives instruction, or eavesdrops unseen on a pertinent conversation. Finally, he wakes and reiterates what he has learned, speaking now with a higher authority.⁶⁹ It is noteworthy that this tripartite scheme mirrors what Pettegree has identified as the typical structure of the Reformation sermon: a narrative opening which sets the scene or summarises events, exegesis, and application.⁷⁰ It is also striking that the audience now occupy a different position from the earlier strongly polemical texts. There they stood outside the landscape, looking in at the lessons laid out for them, but here the first-person narrator draws them in, taking them on a journey and revealing information and lessons to them as he learns them himself.⁷¹

This pattern can be seen in two dreamscape poems, both written during Lent: *Lady Theology Tortured* (1539) and *The Lamenting Gospel* (1541).⁷² The later poem directly alludes to this period of reflection in its opening lines, for it is set on Good Friday, when the narrator spends the night alone in church to meditate and pray. He falls asleep and has a dream 'so strange and

⁶⁶ For examples, see Henze, *Die Allegorie bei Hans Sachs*, 22, and Theiß, *Exemplarische Allegorik*, 99–101

⁶⁷ Theiß, *Exemplarische Allegorik*, 50, 52–3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 99–100; Henze, *Die Allegorie bei Hans Sachs*, 22.

⁶⁹ Wolfgang Harms also makes this point: see Wolfgang Harms, Michael Schilling and Andreas Wang (eds.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel* (ii: Historica, Munich, 1980), ii, 32.

⁷⁰ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, pp. 35–36.

⁷¹ Theiß emphasizes the mediating function of the poetic persona, who experiences the vision on behalf of all. With him, the reader travels through the processes of pondering and questioning in the introduction and main body of the poems, through to understanding in the conclusion (*Exemplarische Allegorik*, 105–106).

⁷² 'Die gemartert Theologia' (SW, i, 338–44); 'Das klagendt Evangelium' (SW, i, 345–52).

wondrous',⁷³ in which he hears a lamenting voice, which, when questioned, reveals its identity as the reforming Gospel.⁷⁴ Although its call to freedom was enthusiastically taken up, the hope of a truly reformed society has not been fulfilled. The Gospel divides the objects of its criticism into three camps: first, it complains bitterly of lip-service Christians, who do not live out their faith in their actions, believing that justification by faith renders good works unnecessary: 'They certainly have me on their lips, but deny me in their lives [...]. And so they use me, God's word, to cover up their shame.'⁷⁵ Then it criticizes those who failed to accept its message, preferring to remain in darkness. Finally, the Gospel vents its anger against its arch-enemies: the high priests, Pharisees, hypocrites, and Sadducees, who mislead with superstition, persecute the Gospel, and try to set the authorities against it. It is significant that the first attack is on those who identify as evangelical Christians, and the Gospel makes the deflating observation that the warring factions are, in fact, merely three garments cut from the same cloth.⁷⁶ The narrator, woken by the bell ringing for Matins, is reminded of the parable of the sower: only few seeds grow into fruit-bearing plants (Matthew 13).

Two years earlier Sachs had made a similar protest against both dissension and the abuse of Scripture in his poem *Lady Theology Tortured*, and indeed the two poems were published together with a single woodcut in 1552 (Fig. 6).⁷⁷ This poem opens in the narrator's bed-chamber:

⁷³ '[S]o frembd und wunderlich' (SW, i, 345, l. 19).

⁷⁴ Theiß points out that often the identity of the speaker is initially held back from the reader, only to be later didactically revealed (*Exemplarische Allegorik*, 49–50).

⁷⁵ 'Im mund fürens mich eben, I Verlaugnen mein im leben. [...] I Muß ich Gots wort allein I Nur ir schand-deckel sein.' (SW, i, 347, ll. 2–4; 348, ll. 3–4).

⁷⁶ SW, i, p. 350, l. 12.

⁷⁷ *Die Gemarthert Theologia. Mer das Klagent Ewangelium* (Nuremberg: Georg Merckel, 1552). See WdHS 227: the authors point out the similarities between these texts and an earlier poem of April 1537, *Lady Truth Suppressed* (*Die vntertrückte Fraw Warheyt*), which also has a vision sequence (in SW, iii, 311–19). The woodcut for the pamphlet version, published in Nuremberg by Georg Wachter, shows Lady Veritas beaten down by the laity and clergy alike. Although the description of the priests in the choir, who assault her with their censers, books and candles, suggests Roman Catholics (SW, iii, 316, ll. 22–34), there is no further denominational attack in the poem, which claims that all strata of society reject truth. (See BB 789; GM 1301.074; and WdHS 182.)

he falls asleep pondering the divisions and heresies rife in the German nation. He is visited by a guiding spirit, 'Genius', who transports him to an ancient temple where a slim white figure, surrounded by a small number of worshippers, sits enthroned, holding a sweetly scented book. The peace is disturbed by prelates, who burst into the temple, each carrying his own book and seeking to woo her by performing curious tricks. One turns a louse into a camel, an attribute of the Devil, according to Luther.⁷⁸ Another strains out a gnat and swallows a camel, echoing Christ's attack on the Scribes and Pharisees, who observe the letter of the law but ignore its spirit (Matthew 23. 24). Others set about building ladders of straw up to heaven, bar heaven's gates with their words, conjure up thunderstorms, or devour entire houses. When the woman turns her pale face away, they storm the throne and attack her. They tweak her nose, attempt to rearrange her hair, cover her with a cloak of error, crown her with superstition, and dress her immodestly. Between them, the woman is left battered and bleeding.⁷⁹ The spirit tells the narrator that the woman is Lady Theology, whose true subjects can be identified both by their simple approach to Scripture, and by their behaviour towards others.⁸⁰ There is a strong emphasis on the *sola Scriptura* message, but no mention of Luther, nor of the Roman church directly, although it is perhaps implied by the term 'prelates', which Sachs had used pointedly for the Roman Catholic clergy in *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*.⁸¹ But seven years later, Sachs revived both the figure of Lady Theology and the setting in *Epitaph or Lament on the Body of Doctor Martin Luther*, written

⁷⁸ Luther, WA, TR, 2, 1289, p. 29.

⁷⁹ In *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter* (ii, 32-33) Harms discusses a 1568 Catholic broadsheet, which he claims used *Lady Theology Martyred* as a model and point of reference. It shows Luther undergoing dissection at the hands of his divided followers. The accompanying poem by Johann Nas is also written in 'Knittelvers', and follows the same dream-narrative structure as Sachs's poem: *Behold, How Wretched Lutheranism is Tortured, Anatomized, Butchered, Hacked to Pieces, Carved Up, Boiled, Roasted, and Finally Completely Consumed by its Own Champions* (*Sihe wie das ellend Lutherthumb durch seine aigne verfechter/ gemartert/ Anatomiert/ gemetzget/ zerhackt/ zerschnitten/ gesotten/ gebraten/ vnd letztlich ganz auffgefressen wirdt*).

⁸⁰ SW, i, ll. 15-21.

⁸¹ SW, vi, 373, l. 18.

on 22 March 1546.⁸² Set on the night before Luther's death, the poem opens with the narrator beset by melancholy and a feeling of deep unease. The dream narrative places him in what appears to be a temple with candles and incense, next to a funeral bier with a shield bearing Luther's seal.⁸³ Lady Theology appears in a snow-white garment, wringing her hands, tearing her hair and weeping bitterly for the hero who fought for her so chivalrously.⁸⁴ She had been languishing in Babylonian captivity with her sullied garments in shreds until this Good Samaritan had rescued her, cleaned her, tended to her wounds, and washed her garments. The narrator comforts her that there are good men still living who will continue to strive for her cause. Although Luther is praised by both the narrator and by Lady Theology, Sachs warns explicitly against the cult of the Reformer, addressing the contemporary fear that, with Luther's death, the progress of the Reformation would falter.

The action of the final poem, *Germany's Lament to Faithful Eckart*, takes place in June 1546, when the Emperor signed a treaty with Pope Paul III against the Schmalkaldic League.⁸⁵ Walking in a green wood, the narrator overhears a conversation between a lamenting pregnant woman, soon identified as Germania, and a hermit, Faithful Eckart, who in medieval vernacular tradition sits at the foot of the Mountain of Venus to warn travellers of the dangers that may ensnare them.⁸⁶ The archetypally Germanic forest setting and the name of the female figure may

⁸² *Ein Epitaphium oder klagred ob der leich D. Martini Luthers* (Nuremberg, Georg Wachter, 1546); also SW, i, 401–403. See WdHS 214.

⁸³ See Michael Freund, 'Zur Geschichte der Lutherrose', *Luther*, xlii (1971).

⁸⁴ '[R]itterlich' (SW, i, 402, l. 6).

⁸⁵ 'Ein Klagred Teütsches landes/ mit dem treüen Eckhart' (SW, xxii, 352–8). It is dated 16 July 1546.

⁸⁶ Both Sachs and Georg Wickram used the figure of Faithful Eckhart for Shrovetide plays in 1538 and 1532 respectively: see Sachs, SW, vii, 183–201; and Georg Wickram, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Hans-Gert Roloff, 13 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1967–90), x, 141–209, comm. 357–63. For further information on the legend, see Karin Tebben, *Tannhäuser: Biographie einer Legende* (Göttingen, 2011), esp. 37. The use of Germania and Eckart supports Henze's observation that secular material gradually replaces biblical material in the allegorical poems, although the conclusions drawn remain moral or religious ones (Henze, *Die Allegorie bei Hans Sachs*, 10).

lead us to expect an attack on Rome,⁸⁷ and indeed Germania rails against her enemies, creatures of the night unwilling to accept the light of the Gospel.⁸⁸ She complains that they have provoked the noble imperial eagle to sharpen his talons in preparation for an attack.⁸⁹ Germania fears civil war, but Eckart responds unsympathetically, suggesting that she is partially responsible for this ill-fortune because she has continued to live in darkness. This chimes with Luther's concerns expressed in his *Admonition to Prayer against the Turks* (1541), where the threat of the Turks is attributed, in part, to wilful reluctance to adapt to the Word of God.⁹⁰ Following the established model, the poem opens with the narrator eavesdropping on a conversation, but rather than coming full circle to the narrator's final thoughts, it ends with the words of Eckart, although they are signed off in typical Sachs fashion: 'Hope in God alone, and be comforted. His gracious help will come to you. This is what Hans Sachs from Nuremberg wishes for you.'⁹¹ With no concluding frame, the poet and the hermit speak together with one edifying voice, urging repentance and conciliation at a time of national crisis.

In their depictions of the battles of faith, both internal and external, fictionalised spaces reveal how Lutheran pamphleteers embodied and imagined the Reformation's struggles, and the

⁸⁷ Tacitus's *Germania*, which relates how Arminius and the ancient Germans fought against the might of Rome and won victory in the Teutoburg Forest, had been published in Nuremberg in 1473, translated into German in Leipzig in 1496, and reclaimed as a patriotic text by Conrad Celtis (see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London, 1995), 77, 81–100).

⁸⁸ Owls are identified as blind and bats as godless in a poem dated to 1524: 'Characteristics of the Twelve Clean Birds to Which a Christian May Be Compared. Also the Twelve Unclean Birds, Which Represent the Ways of the Godless' ('Der zwölf reynen vögel eygenschaft, zu den ein Christ vergleicht wird. Auch die zwölf unreynen vogel, darinn die art der gottlosen gebildet ist', *SW*, i, 380, ll. 4–7 and 381, ll. 14–17). It appears in an extended version in a woodcut produced sometime in the 1530s, with illustrations for each bird provided by Erhard Schön: see *BB* 87 and plate 1; *G*, iii, 1139 (G.1194); *GM* 1301.200; *WdHS* 169. See also 'The Comparison of the Blind Children of the World to an Owl', c. 1540 ('Vergleichung der blinden weltkinder einer ewlen', *SW*, i, 415–17). For the broadsheet with Schön's illustration, see *G*, iii, 1111 (G.1164); *GM* 1301.164; *WdHS* 187.

⁸⁹ The eagle appears amongst the clean birds in Sachs's 1524 poem cited above. It looks into the sun, signifying the Christian who looks into the light of God's word (*SW*, 377, ll. 5–9).

⁹⁰ Cited in Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–46* (Ithaca and London, 1983), 103.

⁹¹ 'Hoff nur auf got und sey getröst, | Aus im dir gnedig hilff erwachs. | Das wünscht dir von Nürnberg Hans Sachs' (*SW*, xxii, 358, ll. 3–5).

shifting needs and concerns of the Lutheran community are certainly reflected in Sachs's changing settings for his works. Both in text and woodcut the clear dividing line of the earlier dichotomous landscapes fades away, and we can observe a move from extended biblical analogies to dreamscapes, even for political events. This may be in part because there was no longer a need to argue so vehemently for its doctrinal positions once the Reformation was established in Nuremberg.⁹² Around 1530 Sachs turned once again to polemical broadsheets, perhaps reflecting evangelical anxiety about the Diet of Augsburg and the effects of the peace treaty signed with France in 1529, whereas after the Peace of Nuremberg in 1532, he wrote increasingly allegorical poems, which deliver largely ethical messages.⁹³ He even couches his response to Luther's death and the threat of war in these terms in 1546, using them not to deliver a stinging polemical attack on the Roman church, but to urge evangelical Christians to live out the true freedom of Luther's Reformation message. The earlier emphasis on landscapes of cultivation, in which barren and fertile doctrines could be polemically contrasted, gives way to dreamscapes, where the citizen becomes the plant that is to bear good fruit. In these broadsheets we see a move from the disputatious cobbler of the 1524 dialogue to Faithful Eckart, offering grave but benevolent warnings to his contemporaries.

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⁹² This is Krause's position (*Die Dramen des Hans Sachs*, 30), as well as Bergmann's ('Hans Sachs Illustrated', 14). Spriewald claims that there is a more widespread tendency amongst pamphleteers to write more veiled, less directly polemical works after about 1530 (*Prosadialoge*, 31–2).

⁹³ Mary Beare notes that Sachs wrote about political events when a crisis also threatened Nuremberg ('The Later Dialogues of Hans Sachs', *The Modern Language Review*, liii (1958), 199).

Fig. 1. Title page: *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall Die man yetz höret vberall* (Augsburg, 1523)

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Fig. 2. [God's lament for the fate of his vineyard]: woodcut by Erhard Schön and poem by Hans Sachs

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Fig. 3. [The Seven Obstacles on the Christian's Way to Salvation]: woodcut by Georg Pencz showing the journey from Mount Zion to Mount Sinai.

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Fig. 4. Title page: *Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd Schüchmacher darin[n] das wort gottes vnd ein recht Cristlich wesen verfochtten wirt* (Augsburg, 1524)

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Fig. 5. Title page: *Eyn gesprecht eynes Euangelischen Christen/ mit einem Lutherischen/ darin der Ergerlich wandel etlicher/ die sich Lutherisch nennen/ angezaigt/ vn[d] brüderlich gestrafft wirt* (Nuremberg, 1524)

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Fig. 6: Title page of *Die Gemarthert Theologia. Mer das Klagent Ewangeliū* (Nuremberg, 1552)

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